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ABSTRACT

Essential information needs for potential cooperative efforts between colleges and cities for the 1980s and possible collection and dissemination strategies are considered. It is suggested that less federal funding will be available, and that state and local governments will probably be the primary supporters of urban projects. In addition to providing specific educational services and research functions within the community, urban colleges also may provide certain kinds of public services, particularly in the health and entertainment fields. Characteristics that colleges have in common with other urban enterprises are noted. There is controversy over the appropriate roles of colleges as settings for remedial academic work, job training, meeting community avocational interests, and relating to high schools and other less traditional college campuses and branch campuses opened in the 1970s. Recommendations include the following: in the early 1980s, it would be worthwhile to study the availability of education facilities from an urban resident's perspective and from a national capacity perspective; information about the size and characteristics of urban colleges and universities should be publicized; facility use at colleges should be surveyed; shared facilities by the college and the community should be promoted; the college housing loan program and all federal housing programs should be publicly evaluated; an update of the local economic impact methodology should be undertaken; information on the impact colleges have on their local economies should be collected for the nation; and information on public relations materials and techniques should be prepared to encourage linkages between industry and colleges. A bibliography and articles are appended. (SW)

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DATA AND INFORMATION NEEDS TO STIMULATE EFFECTIVE COLLEGE/CITY COOPERATION FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

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Prepared for the College and University
Partners in Community Development

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Discussion Draft
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Foreward

This report is being submitted to the College and University Partners in Community Development to assist them in completing their HUD-funded contract on college/community cooperative efforts. It addresses probable public issues during the next few years and recommends data and information to help shape analysis and decisions.

The report was prepared with the guidance and assistance of the Association Council for Policy Analysis and Research and a special small working group convened expressly to discuss this topic. The members of this group (list follows) were carefully chosen for their expertise in different aspects of higher education and urban problems. By bringing together these different kinds of knowledge, we are trying to illuminate and improve the ability of public and private decision-makers to make reasonable decisions in the next five to ten years. The following document is a draft based on these discussions.

The group met on February 17, 1981 with a request to do the following within a framework of urban college conditions and needs and their relationship to community concerns:

1) to identify the essential information needs for public and institutional policy development,

2) to design strategies for obtaining and disseminating the information, and

3) to propose methods for arraying and updating the information and responding to inquiries.

The group moved from the original charge to design an "information system" to the critically perceived need to provide college presidents and senior education leaders with basic ideas and concepts to guide them in their relations with their communities directly and to encourage ad hoc activities by faculty, staff, and students. The group also identified some particular areas for research and dissmeination.

The following document is based on these discussions.

* * *

Our appreciation is extended to the following individuals for contributing their time to this effort.

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Data and Information Needs to Stimulate Effective College/City Cooperation for Community Development

I. Introduction

We are looking at urban colleges and universities in a broader context here than we often do--exclusively in terms of students and primarily educational functions--because we recognize that urban colleges and universities are or can be significant driving forces in their own communities. Whether they perceive it or not, they are often the largest employers; they are often the largest provider of hospitals and other services; they are often among the largest land owners; they are consumers of local housing and other business and services. As such, colleges and universities have considerable influence in their communities. These impacts exist, whether or not they choose to acknowledge them. We are now seeing across the country that a number of colleges are recognizing or re-evaluating their roles. They are attempting to stimulate and broaden their participation in solving local problems while providing services that reach more widely into the community. They question how they can fit better into their local communities, in both the educational and civic arenas? How can they influence local public policy structures? How can they help their communities? How can the communities reciprocally help them?

Within a framework of urban college conditions and needs and their relationships to community concerns, [1/] the purpose of this

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1/Except where expressly noted, this paper does not apply standardized size-related definitions to the use of the terms "urban", "community", etc. In a short issue-raising overview, making discrete distinctions, was not deemed helpful. In applying the ideas of this paper to a particular college and urban setting, the reader is most capable of adapting the ideas to unique conditions.

discussion paper is to identify essential information needs for public and institutional policy development in the 1980s and propose collection and dissemination strategies. It seeks especially to help colleges, cities, and other public agencies to understand their potential cooperative roles and choices. It seeks to expose and overcome impediments to effective cooperation.

Clearly educational relationships are the most significant. However, this paper will focus most attention on the less considered economic and geographic (or physical facilities) relationships between colleges and their surrounding communities.

In the wake of the recent federal budget cuts, most cities, governments and colleges expect to experience significant turmoil as they attempt to adjust and reprioritize their funds to cover their most pressing needs adequately. Some will even be concerned about their actual survival as effective entities. In many cases, the driving motivations of colleges and cities will merge more closely than perhaps ever before. In the mutual context of effective survival, they will both be seeking ways to deliver their services more cost-effectively. Also, since the majority of colleges have ceased to be obviously expansionist -- reaching out to purchase community real estate -- and since colleges serve a student body more aligned with the voting population than 15 years ago, some of the barriers to meaningful, noncontroversial cooperation have been lowered.

Considering the Current Usefulness of Data and Information

In approaching the issue of data needs to background public policy areas in which city/college cooperation could provide effective solutions, it became clear that massive number-crunching exercises and the creation of data bases would be very unlikely to serve useful purposes. In particular, the collection of new substantial data is not likely to be useful, although there certainly are unexplored areas.

Possible areas for descriptive aggregate data analysis using existing sources are discussed later in the paper. A couple of areas, particularily local economic impact studies, are suggested for institutional use. For most particular urban issues, crime, housing, poverty, etc., research and data analysis is and should be conducted within the appropriate disciplines and expertise. These are not discussed here.

The working group decided that the need for numbers-oriented data was minimal considering likely future policy options and the mood of the country. Influence of policy makers with traditional data analysis will be at a low ebb in the near term. The Reagan administration's established priorities view social problems as "side line" of government. Data showing the effects of alternative forms of business stimulation probably would be well-received. But marginal distinctions in transfer payment levels and the benefits to people would not influence decisions at all.

What kinds of data and information would be useful? Rather than generating data as tools for decision-making at the national

level, we should be concentrating on providing tools for colleges to use in making cases to handle their own set of circumstances. The Local Economic Impact Study is a broad-based version of that tool, and clearly data oriented. A model and "how-to" book would be useful. At the other extreme, providing presidents with advice on how urban initiatives can be successfully organized serves an informative purpose. These options and others are discussed in more detail later.

II. The Environment

The Federal Perspective

The timing of this document is highly propitious. The Reagan Administration is actively considering policy changes in urban assistance, taxation and business incentives, and support for education toward which the results of this project might be directed. As federal funds are shifted in block grants to states, fifty new sets of decisions on public priorities will be made. While many cities regard this shift as disastrous to their interests, information and analysis to locate the strategic position for each city in these decisions is essential. Much will be provided by existing city government resources, but local colleges and universities should stand ready to participate with their cities in identifying solutions. Colleges should be alert to enhancing their useful roles within their communities, especially in these unstable financial times. In a recent speech, A. Bartlett Giamatti, President of Yale University, appealed that:

> "With a decline in resources coming, good relationships between cities like New Haven and centers for learning like Yale become absolutely necessary...because the strains imposed on both of us will increase and the strains we impose on each other will be exacerbated. Our mutual survival will, therefore, be more than ever a necessary function of our mutual understanding and communication." (1981, p.4)

By resisting the first impuse to close the shutters and avoid answering the door, colleges and communities may find new ways to help each other directly, by combining forces to make effective cases to higher levels of government and private investors. The most

obvious areas of cooperation are in physical development activities, but almost any area is ripe for exploration. In fact, it is quite likely that somewhere in the country there is a college or college faculty member involved in every aspect of city government and community problem-solving.

Seeking ways to stimulate and highlight these activities so that they can become a useful integral part of federal strategies for urban revitalization is important. Some agencies, such as HUD, have expressed interest in finding ways to assist local institutions, especially colleges and universities with their multiplicity of resources, to take a more direct role in urban improvement.

The City's Perspective

Cities across the country face undulating cycles of needs as public priorities and funding possibilities shift. Colleges participate both in this cycle and one of their own.

At the head of the list of urban problems, from a city management perspective, is money. Funds are needed to fulfill almost all objectives. Funds come from local taxes, and the state and federal governments. Between changing funding patterns (i.e., federal categorical programs vs. revenue sharing vs. block grants, etc.) and inflation and wage pressures, the dollars to balance local budgets are also a problem, even in comparatively wealthy cities.

The second problem, closely competing with the first, is that the people have continuously increased demands for public services, irrespective of the level of resources available, or their willingness to in-

crease taxes. Very recent trends may indicate that public expectations are shifting. People seem to be becoming more aware of the cost-benefit trade-offs involved. But the proof remains to be seen during the next 18 months, as levels of funding and shares of dollars shift at the federal, state, and local levels. In a June 1981 CBS News/New York Times Opinion Poll, 45% believed that state and local governments should make up the shortfall caused by the federal budget cuts (27% - should not be made up, 13% - by private charities, 16% - don't know); however, only 37% were willing to pay higher state taxes. Thus, it appears that expectations are still higher than willingness to pay. In the same survey, people responded that the national situation today is worse than five years ago, and that it will be distinctly better five years from now. Asked the same questions about their personal situation, people continue to see a steady improvement in their lives and are very optimistic about the future. (CBS News/New York Times Opinion Poll, June 22, 1981.)

For the intermediate future, we see state and local governments as the primary supporters (although they may not be the catalysts) of urban projects. Less federal dollars will be available. Of the federal dollars which are flowing, a larger share of the funds will use the state governments as the conduit. Some fear that this tracking will mean that even less funds will be available to alleviate poverty and help various disadvantaged groups, because state and local governments will channel larger portions of the additional funds to projects desired by more affluent and dependable voters.

The reduction in federal funds, often coupled with federal mandates and instructions for running programs could have one substantial benefit. To the degree that local initiators are free to describe problems as they see them, rather than to "fit" problems into federally-funded programs, it is possible more efficent allocations of all resources will occur. Colleges and universities are one set of actors in helping the community to determine priorities to address and possible strategies. For instance, urban enterprise zones (though most effective if covered with federal law, too) are an example of an idea requiring massive local initiative by multiple actors. Universities are particularily well-situated to offer expertise to budding entrepreneurs, and sometimes the initial "nursery" building and services to begin business operations.

The Colleges' Perspective

Colleges are one enterprise in the system of enterprises that make up the city. They often have a uniquely multi-faceted role -- or perhaps such a diverse set of roles -- that not all are known by any one person or visible at any one time.

As a result of the tumultuous sixties, urban universities and colleges established new programs and policies in order to change their relationship with the community. Open admissions policies were begun; continuing educational programs were established; tutorial and remedial services were offered; and urban affairs curriculums and research centers were instituted. These activities were the beginning of a cooperative relationship between the urban university

and its community. However, it has become apparent that most of the strategies utilized during the last two decades had little if any impact upon the structural problems of the city: high unemployment, declining populations and exhausted physical structures, etc.

What effective role can the urban institutions of higher education take today in the community? In order to best understand this role it is necessary to understand and define the urban university. According to Berube (1978 p.14), there is no static definition of an urban institution of higher learning because universities are defined by their functions and these functions change as society changes. The urban university can be broadly defined as not only an institution of higher learning located in the city, but also as an institution developed specifically for the purpose of participating in the diverse issues faced by cities. Defined in this manner urban universities are dynamic, ever-changing, and responsive to the needs of the city, which should be reflected in its various roles.

The primary role of the urban university is that of an <u>educator</u>. In this capacity the student population served by the urban university is reflective of the city's diverse population by being as accessible to them as possible. This also assumes a curriculum that is responsive to urban problems and the needs of urban students.

Unless defining itself strictly as a teaching institution, the urban college and university conducts <u>research</u>. This role has usually been considered a major contribution towards the solution of urban

problems. Yet, today it is evident that most urban university research centers conduct applied or service research rather than basic research which would be of assistance in solving some of the problems in urban America. According to Berube (1978, p.76), "the trouble with the universities in the urban-affairs field is...that they have had too little [advocacy research]". Much of the research previously conducted was inner-directed and self-serving having a minimal effect on the urban predicament. Today, there is an urgent need for more basic research which could provide effective solutions for urban problems.

Yet another function of the urban university is to provide public service to its community. According to Deppe, Hinton and Kerrigan,

> "Public service denotes those consciously planned efforts on the part of a college or university to share its knowledge and expertise with the community for the purposes of contributing to the personal growth and professional competence of individuals and enhancing the effectiveness of organizations, groups and agencies in the public and private sectors, thereby, enriching society and generally improving the quality of life in the community." (1979, p.15)

Functions of Urban Higher Education Institutions:

The university, as such, is nothing but bricks and grass. The university is a reservoir of talent that can be a valuable contributor to community life.

The wealth of diverse resources that colleges have can be unlocked when they realize their strengths and devise strategies to use them more significantly.

- educational programs —
  national/regional focus
  diverse local needs, wide of traditional education;
- research: national/disciplinary;
- applied research related to urban needs; providing technical advise.
- cultural enrichment;
- political clout -- potentially have ability to get things done in terms of size and control of resources;
- entertainment, football, sports facilities;
- employers, purchasers of goods and services, consumers of local resources;
- local human resources development -- special job training;
- concerns as resident, "corporate citizen";
- part or nonpart -- of tax base;
- leadership.

In each of the functional categories, there are some kinds of basic data that are collected and readily available.

The Characteristics of Urban Colleges as Businesses

We easily see colleges as the providers of specific educational services and research functions within a community. They may also provide certain kinds of public services, particularly in the health and entertainment fields. But we often fail to recognize another

dimension: Colleges, like other enterprises, have certain basic needs and characteristics in common with any other urban enterprise, nonprofit or profit-oriented, manufacturing or service-producing. These essential needs are:

- an appropriate location
- an environment conducive to the conducting of business
    - public safety
    - municipal and public awareness of institutions
    - transportation
    - aesthetic attractiveness and health considerations
    - communications
- an ability to provide products or services to a responsive market
    - appropriate pricing and/or public support
    - knowledge of market
    - receptive local government

Some of the characteristics, which include the above needs, are:

- buildings and facilities to use and maintain
- employees and customers to attract and maintain
- investment in plant location
- preference for growth rather than stability or decline

Colleges and universities are like any other business or organization in having these concerns.

III. Public Policy Options

Billions have been spent in government and private funds over the last thirty years to revitalize cities. Some efforts have been very successful, some have been literally disastrous. Within the last fifteen years, community-based strategies, recognizing the importance of local commitment and social acceptance, have been popular. As pointed out by Peter Szanton in Not Well Advised, the funding and impetus for change must be internalized for a project to be successful. (1981, pp. 153-160.) Thus not only must the local government and the effected citizens "buy into" a project, but major institutions including colleges and universities should be included too.

When governments make policies about cities and urban revitalization, these policies should expressly incorporate the hundreds of colleges and universities which are urban enterprises in the system of enterprises which make up a city.

A possible new federal policy thrust would be one which does not depend heavily--or at all--on the distribution of federal dollars directly. Also, new loan guarantees for physical developments should probably be avoided, since they tend to delay projects from being undertaken which otherwise would proceed with private dollars.[1/]

1/If as a private lender, you have the choice of loaning funds up front or backed by a federal guarantee, you would choose the guarantee. But if the federal bureaucracy must do another feasibility study (in addition to the one you have already done) to decide whether to give the guarantee, considerable delay will occur, ironically raising development costs and making the project less feasible with each passing day. This was a prime factor in the total failure of the HUD New Communities program.

IV. Strategic Issues & Recommendations

In recommending data and information to be compiled and distributed, we must look toward the future and the problems of the future, rather than those of the past. We must also consider the likely urban policy options which will be feasible and preferable. The climate of the times will have considerable impact in choosing methods of analysis and presentation which will effectively communicate ideas and consequences. Furthermore, regardless of the objectivity of the actual data, these choices are influenced--cannot help being influenced--by the preferred outcomes and objectives of the sponsors.

Shifting Student Clientele

Within metropolitan areas, 27 percent of the undergraduate students enrolled in college attend part time, compared with only 18 percent in nonmetropolitan areas. Even within two-year colleges, the comparable figures are 47 percent enrolled part time in SMSA's and 36 percent in nonmetropolitan areas. In four-year colleges, 18 percent of the students are part time in SMSA's and 12 percent elsewhere.[1/]

Urban institutions are seeing major shifts in the people that they serve: more minorities, more adults, more nontraditional older residents of urban communities. The socialization process occurring at the undergraduate level never functioned more urgently or with more difficulty than now with substantial minority and nonmainstream students/households in some urban institutions. The educational

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[1/] U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 360 School Enrollment--Social and Economic Characteristics of Students: October 1979, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., Table 19.

community: The proportion of people it has served, its likely allies, and new service areas to be explored.

The College's Role in Education and Training

Different colleges and universities have vastly different educational missions. Some time the mission of a particular institution is likely to be modified. Most institutions have multi-purpose missions and different components will dominate as perceptions of student needs and interests change. Typical mission components are:

- Geographic focus:
  local, regional or national
- Students served:
  serve qualified academically oriented 18-24 year old youth
  serve older students returning to school
  serve disadvantaged youth, providing initial remedial work
- Academic orientation:
  liberal arts orientation
  terminal occupational orientation
  short refresher courses for mid career people
  avocational interests
  research
- Public service:
  (defined as accomplishing some of the above)
  training for public employees
  sports and entertainment
  providing resources for community objectives
    -faculty
    -fund raising
    -facilities

  liaison with high schools

Setting aside the more general educational thrusts and concentrating on those most closely related to local needs, we find some controversy and confusion over the appropriate roles of colleges as settings for remedial academic work, job training, meeting community avocational interests, and relating to high schools and other less traditional

Exhibit A

Percentage of different populations within commuting distance of a free-access college in the 50 states

Area	Total population (millions)	Percent within commuting distance			
		White	Black	Mexican-American	Entire U.S.
Metropolitan areas (SMSA):*					
1,000,000+					
Central cities	32.6	36%	42%	42%	38%
Fringes	33.2	37	31	68	37
500,000 to 1,000,000	20.0	36	46	66	38
250,000 to 500,000	16.0	47	61	37	48
50,000 to 250,000	16.2	62	70	56	63
Counties not in SMSA:					
Over 20,000	45.0	48	52	42	48
Under 20,000	16.2	24	27	13	24
Entire U.S.	179.3 (million)	42%	47%	47%†	42%

* Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas.

† Mexican Americans in five Southwestern states; also includes Puerto Ricans in New York City and Chicago.

Percentage of the population within commuting distance of a free-access college in different types of communities for each region

Area	Northeast	Midwest	South	West
Metropolitan areas (SMSA):				
1,000,000+				
Central cities	29	44	38	44
Fringes	27	30	38	62
500,000 to 1,000,000	38	12	53	55
250,000 to 500,000	49	39	53	48
50,000 to 250,000	71	47	71	61
Counties not in SMSA:				
Over 20,000	51	35	55	50
Under 20,000	24	23	28	17
Overall percentage for each region	38	33	50	51

Reprinted from Warren W. Willingham, Free-access Higher Education, College Entrance Examination Board, New York, 1970, pp. 30 and 33.

college campuses and branch campuses opened in the 1970s, there should be some optimism that the situation has improved. Providing new traditional campuses within central cities has proved difficult. Land is very expensive within cities. Real estate-backed political forces have been known to push for "cow-pasture" locations where the college campus will be the harbinger of future suburban growth. Many colleges have, however, sought to have a branch campus, or at least classroom space within central cities during the 1970s. The millions of veterans in the early 1970s with GI educational benefits--many from central city, low-income backgrounds--probably were a substantial incentive to initiate these efforts.

Also, in 1973, the Federal Basic Grants program became available for the first time, providing the first relatively large infusion of federal funds for college costs based on financial need. States also became more active. By the mid-1970s, lower-income black college participation rates overall were as high as white rates (hispanic lagged). For these, and many other reasons, it is likely that the education capacity within central cities, or serving urban populations, has improved considerably over the 1970s.

Recommendation: In the early 1980s, it would be worthwhile to study the availability of education facilities from an urban resident's perspective and from a national capacity perspective.

Data on the Characteristics of Urban Higher Education

While the picture of the small private college campus spread out

across a luxurious parkland--or the isolated mammoth state university, dominating a small rural town--still pervades the public image of American higher education, the fact is that about one-half of all students attend institutions located in urban areas, many in central cities. But this snapshot does not prevail in the American mind, or even among most policy makers--particularly those in agencies not primarily concerned with education.

Recommendation: Publicize the size and characteristics of urban colleges and universities.

Basic statistical data about urban college characteristics, enrollments, and financing are available in HEGIS[1/] data and readily accessible for aggregate and subgroup analyses through ACE, AASCU, and other associations and universities, as well as NCES.[1/] For very minimal costs, statistics could be produced for selected groups of urban-based institutions. For instance, there are 71 public baccalureate and doctoral granting college and university campuses in major U.S. cities.[2/] They had 1 million students and total annual outlays of $4.3 billion in 1978. These characteristics could easily be compared with those of all higher education to show the share of education in urban institutions.

Virtually all of the HEGIS data on enrollment, finance, institutional characteristics, degrees, faculty salaries, etc. may be readily compiled

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[1/] The HEGIS, or Higher Education General Information Survey, is conducted annually by the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES).

[2/] AASCU computer file, based on HEGIS data, March 1981.

by urban location through a set of standard SMSA codes.[1/] Colleges can be grouped by city size and central/noncentral city location, as well as other distinctions. To our knowledge, such a compilation has not been undertaken in print, although occasional charts and graphs are available (see Exhibit B). An analysis of this basic data would probably show some distinctive differences between urban and nonurban colleges--and perhaps differences between those within an impacted older central city and those in less-densely populated and utilized urban geographic locations.

Data to be readily tabulated include:

- tuition levels
- government support levels
- enrollment: kinds of students being served
- faculty salary differentials
- budget and enrollment growth or stability

Much of the U.S. Bureau of the Census data in the Current Population Reports Series P-20 is available on a metropolitan/nonmetropolitan basis in print. Using the data tapes, it would be possible to analyze the data in more detail.

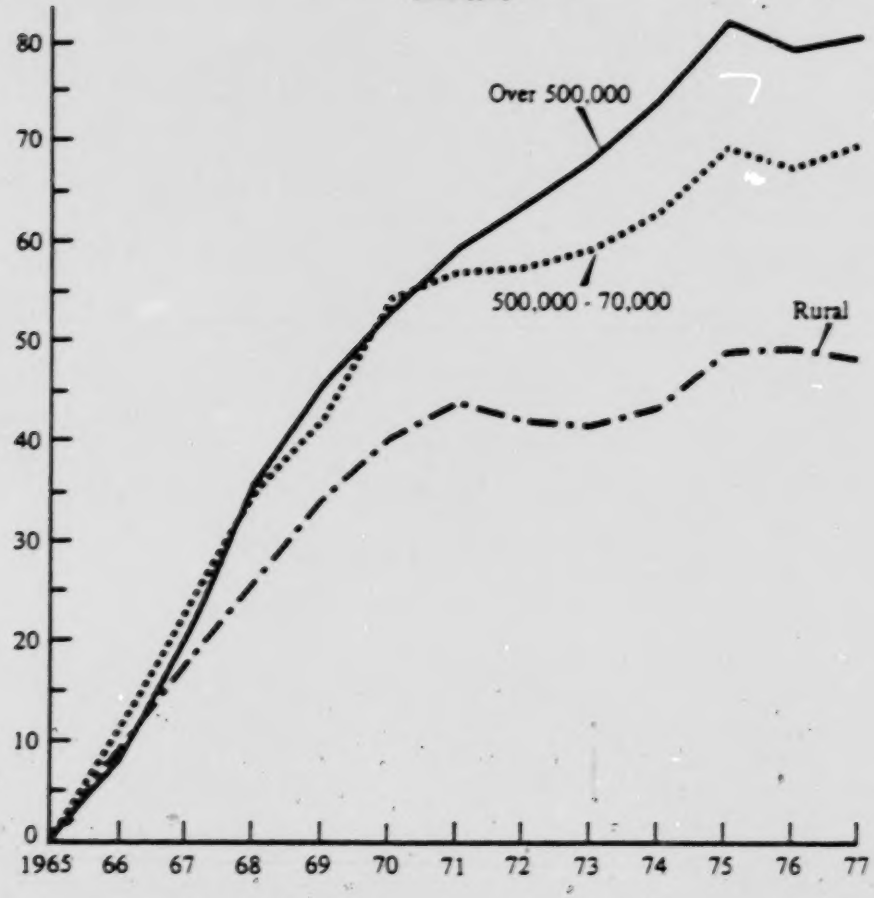
Data available include:

- educational participation by type of school at all levels
- educational attainment
- family income
- employment
- race, sex, and age
- population and mobility

[1/] Currently, analysis can be done by AASCU's minicomputer on an immediate basis; ACE's data services could also be used, as well as several of the other data banks scattered across the country.

Exhibit B

Figure 5
Institutional Headcount Enrollments By Location in Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas With Populations Over 500,000, Populations Between 70,000 and 500,000 And in Rural Areas
1965-1978



Urban and Rural Location

About one-half of the state colleges and universities belonging to AASCU are urban, as defined by their location in Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSA). The other half are located outside of SMSA's and are labeled rural. Figure 5 shows headcount enrollment trends for institutions located in large SMSA's (i.e., with population over 500,000), in smaller SMSA's populations between 70,000 and 500,000 and in rural areas. Perhaps the most interesting feature in Figure 5 is that enrollments have consistently increased faster in urban institutions than in rural institutions, except in 1976 and 1978. In these years institutions located in the largest urban areas experienced the largest declines, followed by institutions located in the smaller urban areas. There is no similar pattern among rural institutions. Another interesting feature of Figure 5 is that overall enrollments among rural institutions declined between 1971 and 1975, while urban institutions continued to grow fairly rapidly until 1976.

Reprinted from AASCU Studies: Enrollment Trends and College costs, pp. 10 and 11.

Analyses are available on much of this data and might be compiled to provide a national picture of the urban population served by colleges. (See Exhibit C-E)

As the 1980 Census data becomes available, additional analysis can be done on population density and housing stock. Both of these subjects are important to analyzing patterns of urban institution location.

Once the above were in-hand, the special costs and benefits to higher education of an urban setting could be explored on the basis of the comparative data presented. Areas where further research would be likely to reveal causal factors would present themselves.

Additional data sets are available for analysis of particular issues and problems, without re-surveying the population. Student aid usage, and other student characteristics are also available.[1/]

Facilities and Land: College and City Conflict and Cooperation

The urban university affects the environment of the city in several ways. The university's expansion plans may adversely affect the maintenance standards of its neighboring areas as well as real estate values. The parking facilities of the university may increase traffic burdens in the campus vicinity and may put an excessive burden on the city. The university can also have a positive effect on the physical environment of the city. If the campus is well-designed, it can provide recreational, cultural and park

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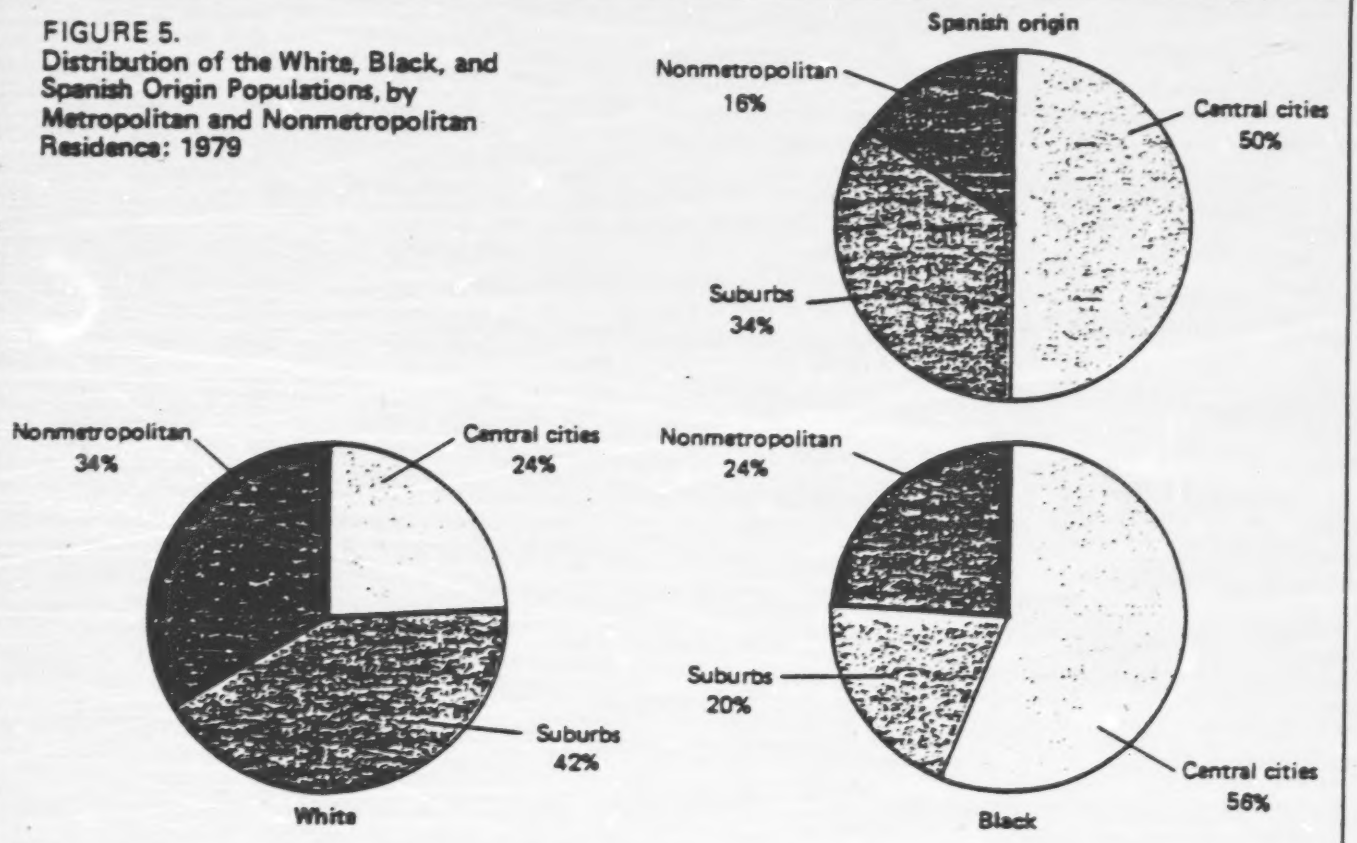
1/ ACE Data Services has access to the AMS and FISCOP government aid tapes and the ACE-CIRP freshman survey and follow-up studies.

Exhibit C

FIGURE 5.
Distribution of the White, Black, and Spanish Origin Populations, by Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan Residence: 1979



Source: table 15.

Reprinted from U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 350, Population Profile of the United States: 1979, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1980. p20.

Exhibit D

Percent of Population (18-34 Years Old) Enrolled in College
by Residence in Metropolitan, Nonmetropolitan Area
October 1979

	Metropolitan Central City	Metropolitan Outside Central City	Nonmetropolitan
All Races	17	17	12
White	17	17	12
Black	14	14	9
Spanish Origin[a]	11	13	7
Mexican Origin	8	9	7

[a]Persons of Spanish origin may be of any race.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 360, School Enrollment--Social and Economic Characteristics of Students: October 1979, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1981.

facilities which might not otherwise be available in a particular area. In order for an urban university to achieve a "mutually beneficial relationship between the campus and its physical environs", careful consideration is required on the part of both the university and the city in determining the long-range physical plans of the institution. (Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, p.80.)

Colleges, individually and collectively, are among the largest landowners and facilities holders in the city. They are exempt from local real estate taxes. They are often located in deteriorating sections of the city. This creates a multitude of questions and concerns Why are they in deteriorated areas? How much land do colleges own not intended for educational uses? What are the information needs to understand the current--and future--physical facilities needs of campuses?

One excellent source for reviewing the activities and strategies of other urban universities in dealing with physical plant issues is a recent report by the Educational Facilities Laboratories entitled "Campus and Community." (1980) The urban university's role in enhancing the physical environment and facilities of its surrounding community is discussed, the case studies of eight urban universities are reviewed and also a "sampling of strategies" are discussed. They are:

Campus-Related Commercial Development
Renovation of Community Buildings
Assistance for Community Self-Help
[Improving Neighborhood Appearance]
Shared Cultural Facilities
Mixed Use Development

Community Housing Improvements
Housing Students, Staff, and Community
Mortgage Subsidies for Faculty
Community Use for Surplus Property
Improved Mass Transit Stations
Expanded Range of Campus Security
Partners in Public Open Space (p.6)

Cooperative Usage. Colleges and cities are getting together for physical development projects of all sorts: power and heating plants, waste disposal, transportation, security, fire protection, private office buildings, sports arenas, theaters, health and social services, and housing. A number of colleges have training facilities for police and fire departments, and other civic services on their campuses. They may also rent facilities from each other, or set up any range of cooperative cost-sharing for joint use. Often one entity will own the building and maintain it, and the other entity will provide program and administrative staff.

Recommendation: A new HEGIS physical facilities survey is being drafted for 1982 collection. This provides an excellent opportunity to ask several questions about facility uses at colleges. What facilities are in primary education usage? Or held for investment? What facilities are being rented to other users? What facilities are institutions renting for educational purposes? For other purposes? What facilities are openly available to the public? What is the surrounding land value (with and without present structures)? How many colleges are owners and developers of "noncampus structures?" A person versed in urban perspectives and future policy information needs should participate as a member of the drafting team.

Recommendation: There is a distinct trend toward softening the boundaries between the college campus and the community. This is likely to continue, since both social and economic considerations are driving the shift. Effective joint uses should be documented and publicized to help colleges and communities see new possibilities and also not make needless mistakes.

Recommendation: The college housing loan program and all HUD housing programs should be publicly evaluated, both from the standpoint of their effectiveness in producing their goals and in the efficiency of the administrative structure.

In the college housing program, several alternatives should be reviewed:

- Funding integrated student/community housing
- Renovating existing structures (on-campus and off)

Erecting apartment buildings rentable to local residents would also allow the college more flexibility in times of enrollment instability.

Local Economic Impact Studies

Most books and articles on urban universities and community involvement emphasize the history and development of the urban university and are not in tune with the organic nature of the economic and social relationship between the city and the college. There is a need for more in-depth study of the economic impact of urban colleges and universities, because economic vitality has such far-reaching effects on the social, political and physical environment of the city. These studies need to be conducted at the institutional level and also on an aggregated national basis to determine impacts on state, regional and national economies.

Colleges across the country for the last ten years have used as a basis for their economic impact studies a publication called, Estimating the Impact of a College or University on the Local Economy.[1/] This seminal publication is now out-of-print, making this an excellent time to consider a revision.

Recommendation: An update of the local economic impact methodology should be undertaken and made available. In this new age of minicomputers, a computer program for the model should also be available in a commonly used format on diskettes. A workbook might also be printed to simplify the collection and aggregation of impact data at small colleges. Modifications might be made to the basic model to:

- consider differences in institutional mission and resultant impact (i.e., community colleges, medical schools)

1/ John Caffrey and Herbert H. Issacs, American Council on Education, 1971.

- provide detail on public service program impacts
- make maximum use of available data
- identify cost-effective models of college/city interaction and urban rejuvenation

Recommendation: To understand at the state, regional and national levels, the impact colleges have on their local economies, a national data set would need to be put together. The first step would be assembling a comprehensive collection of local economic impact studies from around the country.[1/]

This collection will provide the first data set, along with the ACE comprehensive institutional data base, for development of a computerized set of models. Government economic data on cities and towns and rural areas would need to be added to the data base.

The comprehensive model would be capable of aggregating the data on file and weighting it by the geographic economic and institutional data to create state and national estimates.

Another model would search the existing data base for peer institutions to provide quick estimates of local economic impact for colleges requesting such estimates.

A third model could calculate the individual impact statement from raw data presented by an institution.

Thus, the higher education sector would gain a powerful tool to predict the impact of federal budget cuts, student aid changes, and general economic conditions on colleges and, through them, on their local community's economy.

1/ Richard Ewing, a Harvard Graduate Student, and Summer 1981 Scholar-in-Residence at the American Council on Education, is conducting a literature search to determine what other methodologies are in use by colleges.

College/Industrial Cooperation

Colleges with their usual resilience have been looking to the industrial sector since Proposition 13 as a) a source of new funding support and a swapping of resources, and b) a "third party" supporter in lobbying for increased state funding for colleges.

Linkages to industry are not only important in the discrete financial sense presented above, but help colleges develop and maintain educational and career placement programs that lead students to jobs. In some cases, the private companies are providing education and the colleges can learn from them. In other cases, research and staff are being shared. Occasionally, joint construction efforts are undertaken.

Recommendation: Information and public relations materials and techniques should be prepared at the national level to encourage industry to consider linkages with local colleges. Publicity should not be aimed only at the Fortune 500, but also be relevant to the huge bulk of smaller industries and branch plants.

Recommendation: Evidence of the success of urban enterprise zones in other countries and other related techniques and industry "incubators" in the United States should be compiled with an eye to determining the most effective methods. These could be proposed for further experimentation leading to broader adoption.

Policies Encouraging/Discouraging Faculty Involvement

In the usual institutional setting, every faculty member and department is virtually free to go out independently and offer services to local governments and community activities. But some states (and institutions)

discourage this interaction, while others encourage it. The constraints and incentive systems vary from state to state.[6] Faculty are particularly likely to be independently engaged in work in the business and industrial sectors.

Recommendation: Knowing different policies for performance evaluation of faculty and incentives for undertaking this kind of work would be useful.

Tools to Assist Urban College Presidents

The following sets of guidelines, examples and checklists have been suggested as being useful to college presidents and other chief administrators.

- Published case studies of ideas which have worked.
- Practical tips by which self-interested colleges can deal with urban decline, perhaps by redefining their mission, and creating new incentive structures for faculty.
- A checklist of urban issues for cities and college presidents to evaluate mutual needs and responsibilities against. Could be used in an annual message that the president makes to the community indicating the dimensions of involvement and implications of a change in status of the institution for the community.
- A checklist of resources within the university which could be mobilized to deal with urban problems.

Recommendation: A published "kit" could be prepared for college presidents containing "boiler-plate" data on national college and urban conditions, and most of the above checklists. This would be useful in evaluating the college's role and potential in solving urban problems, as well as providing material for speeches, etc.

V. Summary Recommendations to College and University Partners in Community Development

(to be completed after discussions with working groups and ACPAR)

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Appendix

The following summary and excerpts of George Nash's and Peter Szanton's work have been selected for inclusion because they offer trenchant advice to college and university administrators about the realities they face in organizing cooperative projects with their communities. They also differ somewhat in their conclusions.

George Nash, The University and the City: Eight Cases of Involvement, Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, McGraw-Hill Book Company, New York 1973.

In reporting on a number of case studies in city/college interaction, George Nash draws several generalized conclusions.

"I found that urban programs varied from institution to institution in history, content, and organization." (p. 15)

"Just as the Peace Corps Volunteers benefitted as much as those they were trying to help, so these institutions were primary beneficiaries of their involvement. Each is a different and better place than it was before it attempted to respond to the problems around it." (p. 15)

"A key element in all the case studies is leadership. Presidents or other high-ranking administrators set the goals, provided the resources and encouragement, and rewarded success." (p. 15)

"Most projects took longer and required more resources than they were originally expected to do. One conclusion is that an institution should choose carefully from the vast list of things it might do, so as not to dissipate its resources or disappoint those who seek its help." (p. 16)

Excerpted from The University and the City, Eight Cases of Involvement, by George Nash, Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1973, pp. 2-6.

THE FOUR AREAS OF URBAN INVOLVEMENT FOR UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES

There are four fundamental areas in which colleges can and should be involved with urban, community, and minority-group problems. First and foremost, the college should become involved as an educator. There are five different ways in which it can do this:

1. It can become an educator of different types of people—primarily those who in the past have not met the "normal standards" for admission. The Open Admissions program of the City University of New York is an example of this.
2. It can provide a different and more relevant type of education to prepare people to live in cities and to deal with urban problems. This type of education may include student volunteer work in the community, programs that send students out into the community for part of their educational experience, and black studies programs.
3. It can provide education for public officials and technologists who will work in cities. Fels Institute at the University of Pennsylvania and the New School's Institute on New York City are in the forefront here.
4. It can provide continuing or extension education. The University of Wisconsin is a leader here.
5. It can play a role in educating paraprofessionals, new careerists, and the hard-core unemployed. Federal City College in Washington and Malcolm X College in Chicago both are very active in this area.

The second major area for involvement of colleges and universities in their communities is in their role as neighbor and citizen. Some colleges have attempted to rebuild and revitalize their neighborhoods.

The third and most traditional role of colleges and universities in dealing with the urban crisis is to provide services. Traditionally this has meant to do research.

The fourth way in which the university can deal with the urban crisis is by serving as a model or example for the rest of society.

FIFTEEN DILEMMAS AND CONTRADICTIONS

Universities and colleges must change many of their assumptions and procedures if they are to relate to the urban crisis. I have noted 15 specific dilemmas and contradictions that confront any institution of higher education trying to become more involved in the urban crisis.

Problems related to the nature of the social sciences

1 Those universities that get the greatest allocation of research funds and have the most resources to commit to the solution of urban problems are nationally and internationally oriented and not necessarily committed to the solution of local problems.

2 Social science, which is often considered the best hope for solving a variety of urban problems, is in need of vast reform. Social scientists tend to be interested in securing grants and moving up in their departments, not in solving problems. The very nature of the research often treats those who are being studied in a demeaning fashion. Social scientists tend to write for their peers—other social scientists—not for the administrators who must solve the problems.

3 Some of the social scientists who would be the best prepared to teach about urban problems and to help the university relate to the community are not accepted in the normal social science disciplines because they have neither Ph.D.'s nor the desire to get them. Their learning has been in the real world rather than the academic world.

4 The definition of the urban field is uncertain. Most social problems exist in cities, but they also exist in rural areas. Even if the definitions of *urban problems* and *urban studies* can be agreed on, there is a lack of correlation between these terms and the academic disciplines.

Problems related to black and white relations

5 Urban problems and black problems do not necessarily encompass each other. Several universities with community service offices staffed by blacks and urban studies centers staffed by social science Ph.D.'s, who usually happen to be white, found that there was a great deal of conflict between the two. The community service office is likely to feel that the research done by the urban studies center is not really relevant to the problems of black people. In several conferences, blacks involved in community service stated that they were not concerned about the problems of traffic movement and air pollution; they were just worried about jobs, food, and housing for black people. The white social scientists usually took offense at this and did not even attempt to reply.

6 If the president of the university picks one black man to be in charge of solving black problems at the institution, this can create problems. At some institutions the person favored in this way has caused a lot of hard feelings among others. In one case the high-ranking black who had the president's ear became a center of controversy because he blocked the promotion of other blacks. At universities that have appointed teams of black administrators, such personality problems have been avoided.

7 Just because a college institutes a number of new programs for black students and the black community does not mean that it will automatically become a good place for blacks (or, by extension, other ethnic minorities). The problem of institutional racism must be dealt with. Most predominantly white institutions of higher education have specific reputations in black academic circles. The president should be sufficiently plugged into the black academic community to find out what reputation his institution has and how to set about changing it if necessary.

Problems of funding

8 The colleges and universities that should be doing the most to help solve the urban crisis are those located in the inner parts of large cities and the predominantly black or Negro. Unfortunately, many of these colleges are in extremely poor financial condition and cannot raise the resources needed to do the job. Many of the colleges and universities located in the inner cities are Catholic institutions. The majority of them operate primarily on receipts from tuition. Such an institution cannot very well charge its already hard-pressed student body more so that it can increase its involvement in urban problems. The predominantly black colleges have both serious funding problems and a shortage of administrative personnel. Public universities, which probably have the greatest potential for involvement in this field, are frequently located in rural settings.

9 One of the major problems of funding is a lack of continuity. Many sources of funds (e.g., the Title I program of the Higher Education Act of 1965) are willing to start programs but not to continue them. These days, when private universities and colleges are more and more strapped for funds for special programs, means of funding will have to be arranged that can be continued indefinitely. No matter how well intentioned an institution of higher education may be, it may not be able to continue a program without a special source of funds.

Other types of dilemmas and contradictions

10 Students are a prime resource for the involvement of the university in its community. They are likely to cause problems for the university, however, both because they may be unreasonably idealistic and because they will see how the university is perceived by the community. Hence universities that have a lot of students working in the community can expect a good deal of criticism from these students.

11 The university can be seen as a cause of a number of problems and not just as a potential problem solver. While it gives to those it graduates credentials that help them get jobs, it is denying jobs to those whom it does not train. As more and more jobs require either a college degree or graduate education, the lack of such an education will be a barrier to more and more people.

12 Many institutions of higher education think that getting involved with their communities will help to improve their public relations. This is not necessarily the case. Involvement can be extremely controversial. All of the city's political chickens can come home to roost on the college campus. An involved university may have more public relations problems than an uninvolved one.

13 The extension divisions of universities potentially have the most to offer poor people in cities in need of higher education, but they have not been able to reach such people for a variety of reasons. Hence that area of the university that should be most flexible and most useful has wound up serving primarily the middle class.

14 Students from urban backgrounds who might logically be expected to become most involved in off-campus activities in cities are the least interested in such involvement. Many are first-generation college students; often they work part time while attending college; they tend to be commuters; and they are not really part of the college culture that emphasizes service. James Coleman has said that one reason today's middle-class students are dissatisfied with education is that they have already received so much education at home and through the mass media; they feel they have too much information and not enough experience. To a large extent, community involvement for middle-class students is a way of getting this first-hand experience. This is not the case for the majority of students from lower middle-class urban homes. They want a good education so that they will be able to get good jobs. This applies particularly to black students. All of the means for breaking down the walls of the classroom and getting students out into the real world for part of their education may be of relatively little interest to the typical inner-city student.

15 Each institution has a variety of constituencies that it might serve in its neighboring community. The fact that it relates well to one faction in the black community may cause it problems in trying to deal with another faction. The institution that does a good job relating to blacks may not do well relating to Puerto Ricans or poor whites. It is not really possible to serve all elements of the community equally. If the community service office is staffed by blacks, it will probably serve the black community and not other poor minorities in the same community.

Peter Szanton, Not Well Advised. Russell Sage Foundation, New York, 1981

Peter Szanton, who has recently completed a study of urban government/ consultant relationships, especially focussing on universities as advisors, has much to contribute on the ways that colleges should attempt to work with city governments. First and foremost, he recommends that colleges "avoid grandoise plans and avoid institutional relationships." (1981, p.142) He goes on to say that the most productive working relationships are between scholars and public officials at lower operational levels, and that they are most successful when instigated by the client with a self-identified problem.

Finally, he says that the only involvement needed by university administrators is tolerance of the advisory relationships engaged in by their professors. "...'Bridges' officially constructed between a whole city government and a university...usually collapse...[They] simply bring together uninterested mayors and powerless deans." (1981, p. 143)

Excerpted from: Not Well Advised, by Peter Szanton, Russell Sage Foundation, 1981, New York.

credit." But the functional reason is reinforced by one of fairness. No matter how adroit, accomplished, or self-disciplined the adviser; no matter how deeply he engages in the details of implementation, his recommendations may not work. Or they may work poorly or produce unforeseen side effects. If so, it will be a public official who will ultimately pay the price. The adviser goes on to other advice, as President Kennedy once observed, but the official goes on to elections. The public holds the official responsible, not his advisers; and it should. If the client must take blame for failure, he is entitled to credit for success.

ACADEMICS AS ADVISERS

In addition to the injunctions that apply to all advisers to city governments, a number appear to apply especially to academics.

Consider Whether You Can Do the Job. Universities as institutions and academics as individuals should be clear about their probable disadvantages as advisers to local government. These are not merely the characteristics recounted in chapter 2—the concern for the good opinion of academic peers rather than that of clients; probable interest in the general principle rather than the particular application; the incentives to produce an original rather than a reliable conclusion, and so forth—though these alone will often disqualify. There are at least two further problems: universities as institutions are poorly structured to ensure that specified products are delivered by particular times, and academics as individuals may be ill-equipped to persuade, support, and provide political cover for distracted, unintellectual, and probably skeptical government clients.

As to the managerial record of universities, recall the urban

observatory cases. As to the psychic qualifications of academics, consider the attitude toward city officials of many of the academics involved in the Pittsburgh CRP: as Brewer makes clear, it was one of lightly-disguised contempt. And even where so corrosive an attitude is absent, academic advisers may still be unable to sustain the self-effacing persistence required to induce substantial change in a municipal bureaucracy. Indeed they may find it difficult to maintain even a more straightforward relationship. Professor Stanley Altman, a key figure in Stony Brook's successful work for New York City's Environmental Protection Administration, has said of work for urban clients:

> The psychic highs may be quite high—you get your name in the papers and letters of commendation from politicians. But the frustrations are intense. In the classroom you're a king, and you go into a city office thinking you are there to help and deserve some gratitude or at least respect. But people may not even have the time to talk to you, or they suspect your motives, or they're just rude.[4]

There are certainly differences among the disciplines. Professors of law, medicine, architecture, or of the applied sciences—fields accustomed to clients—are more likely than others to be equipped for such relationships. But professionals in any field who regard themselves primarily as researchers or teachers may find the strain considerable. Reflecting on their own capacities, tolerances, and schedules, academics may conclude that they are ill suited to assist a difficult and perhaps reluctant client with a complex problem.

Consider Why You Want the Job. In the 1960s and early 1970s, "relevance" prompted many academics to consult with urban governments. But notions of relevance are fleeting. City hall may be "where the action is" today, but tomorrow the Congress may have it, or the environmental movement, or the

Pentagon. And today's relevance may tomorrow seem merely faddish.

The search for fresh sources of funds, clearly, was another motive. But the past decade demonstrates that neither local governments nor their federal and foundation patrons are reliable long-term supporters of analysis or advice.

The notion that the city might be a laboratory, a setting for new and important discovery, was yet another attraction. But experience suggests that the urban laboratory is a peculiarly difficult and distracting one, where experiments are uncontrolled and uncontrollable, ambient conditions unstable, the hypotheses to be tested poorly formulated or nonexistent, the first principles of "urban science" still undiscovered. Experiments in such a laboratory may prove little.

Consider the Costs. Becoming embroiled in local decision making and hence in local politics may prove costly to a university, particularly to a public university dependent on broad public support. The danger may arise either from unpopular conclusions on a sensitive topic (the legitimacy of teenage behavior in Tulsa) or from sloppy or irrelevant work (the Pittsburgh CRP and Cleveland Observatory).

A higher cost may arise from distortions of purpose. While serving poorly as public advisers, academics may slight the roles for which they are better equipped and which comprise their reason for being: teaching and research. And those more elemental functions have civic virtues of their own: over the long run they create more knowledgeable citizens, and local officials more alert to the help that research and analysis might provide.

If You're Going To Do It, Do It Right. For universities, doing it right involves first two negative injunctions: avoid grandiose plans and avoid institutional relationships.

Asked how he would stimulate useful assistance from a university, William Donaldson, who succeeded Robert Turner as the city manager of Cincinnati, responded:

academics may be the obvious or only choice. But such a choice may confer some potential advantages. Cities normally cannot afford (or are unwilling to pay) the high overhead costs of professional research and consulting firms. Academics should be able to offer lower costs. The professors of a local university are likely also to enjoy both a prestige that outside consultants may lack and a network of contacts in the city's social and political structure. And universities may themselves be major political forces. For one thing, they are substantial employers. The University of Pittsburgh, including its associated hospitals, meets Pittsburgh's largest payroll. The University of Nebraska is the largest employer in the state. Strong support for innovation from members of such faculties, therefore, may lend the proposal substantial weight.

If You Can't Do It Right, Don't Do It. The final injunction is the sum of the others. If the adviser's purpose is not simply to inform but to help induce useful change, then the numerous and burdensome conditions we have been reviewing must be met. If they cannot, the odds are high against the intended change taking effect. If the client is wise he will not seek advice under those circumstances. If the client is not wise, the prospective adviser must be wise on his behalf: he must decline the assignment. It seems reasonable to expect that academics, for whom consulting is not the sole source of income, should observe the rule more faithfully than professional consultants and researchers.

> I'd hire a guy and tell him to spend six months wandering around city agencies talking to people about what interested them and what they thought their problems were. Then he'd spend another six months circulating in the university seeing who knew what and who was inclined to be helpful. And I would tell that guy that if he ever held a meeting of more than three people he'd be fired.[3]

The plan may be overly severe, but its principle is sound. As Cincinnati's previous experience suggests, "bridges" officially constructed between a whole city government and a university as an institution usually collapse. I know of none that carried any substantial traffic. Nor is that surprising. Most city governments offer neither an appropriate central point of contact for the university nor any central funding source. And there is no reason for such a centralized relationship. It would be useful only if, by drawing on resources from many schools and departments, the university could offer a mayor or city manager or city council analyses of the city as a systematic whole. But that capacity is nowhere in sight. Pending its development, broad institutional relationships between cities and universities simply bring together uninterested mayors and powerless deans.

As the Donaldson remark suggests, the advising relationships that work best between scholars and officials are those at lower levels. When a deputy fire chief or assistant sewer commissioner or public health district director encounters a specific problem to which the skills of a professor of engineering or business administration or medicine are clearly relevant, and when the official himself selects the professor from whom he wants help and specifies the kind of help required, then—all our evidence shows—the relationship is likely to be productive. Such relationships require from university administrators little but toleration.

You Have Some Comparative Advantage. City governments are rarely adept at searching widely for appropriate advisers. Therefore, especially for less cosmopolitan cities, local

General Considerations for
Advising City Governments
(fully explained in Szanton,
pp. 135-140.

1. Identify the client.
2. Learn from the client.
3. Earn his trust.
4. Find internal champions.
5. Find the right ones.(decision-maker
6. Look for discontent.
7. Avoid program evaluations.
8. Produce something useful fast.
9. Promise no breakthroughs.
10. Unusable advice is not good advice.
11. To the client belongs the credit.